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Swedish History.

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THE GREAT WAR

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O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N T H E

Swedish History.

Very proper to be read by the Subjects
of a *Free Government*.



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O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N T H E

Swedish History.



THE *Swedes*, like most other Nations, pretend to great Antiquity; and, probably, their Pretensions are better founded than those of a great many others: But their History, according to *Puffendorf*, is very obscure for many Ages. Till the XVIth Century, their foreign Transactions hardly extended farther than *Russia*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*. The Success of the Wars carried on among those Nations,

Nations, was various; sometimes one, and sometimes another, was Conqueror: In those Times we must not imagine that their Kings were invested with so much Power as they were in After-ages; they were then obliged to consult the Inclinations of the Subjects, who often dethroned, and put them to Death, for bad Government. In primitive Times, Mankind contracted the Power of their Kings within narrow Limits: They had a Notion, that Kings were instituted for the Good of Society; and that if they acted contrary to this End, they were no longer Kings. In those early Ages, Power was looked on as of an encroaching Nature, which, unless timely restrained, would become unlimited. Divine hereditary Right was in Reserve for politer Tastes than at that Time prevailed in the northern World. They had a Notion, likewise, that Power followed Property; and, for that Reason, they would not allow their Princes much of the latter, for Fear of the former.

In this Manner they lived, and were governed, for many Ages. Those Kings who attempted to be absolute, always lost their
I
Crowns,

Crowns, if not their Lives. It would be too tedious to go through the whole *Swedish* History; I shall therefore begin my Remarks no higher than the Year 1365, at which Time *Albert*, Duke of *Mecklenburg*, was chosen King, in the Place of *Magnus Smelch*, who was deposed.

This *Magnus* was the last King of *Sweden* of the Line of *St. Eric*, whose Descendants had inherited the *Swedish* Crown for above 220 Years.

The Reader is to observe, that a Spirit of Liberty prevailed among the *Swedes*, and that their Kings were happy or miserable, as they protected or violated the Laws and Constitution; to prove which, is the chief Design of the present Work.

King *Albert* did not consider this, his Aim was to be absolute; and, to that End, he slighted the *Swedes*, seized their Properties, and gave to Foreigners, tho' void both of Capacity and Honesty, the best Posts of the Kingdom. The People groaned under an intolerable Load of Taxes, and had the daily

Mortification to see their Laws and Liberties trampled upon, and infringed. Their humble Remonstrances were in vain, the King regarded them not; therefore he was at last told, in plain Terms, that if he would not govern according to the Laws of the Kingdom, other Measures should be taken. They kept their Word, and made *Margaret*, Queen of *Denmark* and *Norway*, their Queen; who defeated *Albert*, and took him Prisoner. He then probably repented of his bad Conduct, and, when too late, saw the Folly of harkening to Flatterers and Court Minions, the greatest Enemies of Princes.

Margaret got *Eric*, her Sister's Son, elected King. When he came of Age, he married *Philopot*, Daughter of the King of *England*. *Eric* was not wise enough to govern as he ought; his Inclination was to be arbitrary: In Consequence of which, he oppressed his *Swedish* Subjects in a very grievous Manner, and almost ruined them by a War with *Holstein*. But what chiefly disgusted them was, the Insolence and Arrogance of the *Danes*, who were in most Posts of Value, and governed with a very high and oppressive Hand.

Princes

Princes cannot be guilty of a greater Fault than preferring Strangers, in Cases where the Natives are equally capable and knowing. These Governors were cruel, proud, and avaricious, and were continually inflicting Hardships and Barbarities upon the *Swedes*, of all Ranks and Conditions.

At this Time there was a Gentleman whose Name was *Engelbrecht Englebrechtson*, who undertook to free his Country from its Miseries, which he in a great Measure effected, but at last fell a Sacrifice to Marshal *Charles Knutson*; who, from a Patriot, endeavoured to be Tyrant of his Country. *Eric*, by his ill Government, lost the three Kingdoms. After whom, his Nephew, *Christopher*, Duke of *Bavaria*, was elected King. He died in *January* 1448. After his Death, the Union of the three Kingdoms was broke, and the *Swedes* elected the Marshal *Charles Knutson* for their King, and the *Danes* elected *Christian* of *Oldenburg*, Nephew to *Adolphus*, Duke of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*, which they had a Mind to annex to the Kingdom of *Denmark*.

Puffendorf tells us, that *Charles* ‘ was naturally of a haughty and proud Temper ;
 ‘ that he contemned all the World, and never
 ‘ could treat any Affair with gentle Measures,
 ‘ but was always for carrying Things by
 ‘ Force, which was the true Cause of his
 ‘ Ruin.’

The *Swedes* elected after him *Christian*, King of *Denmark*, who likewise oppressed them by heavy Taxations, which had ruined many of his Predecessors. There is a Degree, beyond which, if Taxes are raised, they must end in the Destruction either of the King or People. If a Spirit of Liberty subsists, the fatal Blow will fall upon the former; and it is reasonable that it should. The Preservation of many, is preferable to that of one, or a few. There is scarce a People but will cheerfully raise those Taxes which are necessary for the Good of the Society, and for supporting a Prince who makes such Good the End of his Government. But they will certainly become disaffected, if Taxes are laid to maintain unnecessary Wars, to support absolute Power, or hungry Courtiers in Luxury
 and

and Pride. Men can never be satisfied to have their Fortunes taken from them, in order to be employed in rendering them miserable; and yet this is generally the Case when extraordinary Revenues are demanded: And therefore People should be very cautious, and well advised, before they grant them. Remembering the old Opinion, that Power always follows Property. It is a bad Sign, when a Nation is inclined to trust too much to the Goodness of their Prince. The Foundation is weak and fallacious; the best Way to make and continue Men good, is, to put it out of their Power to do Ill. Thus in *Britain* the King can do no Ill, because he has not the Power. Happy is the State of those Princes, who are enabled to do Good, but are restrained from doing Evil!

I might here stop, to make some Reflections on the Conduct of *Sleen Sture*, but I choose to proceed to the Life of King *John*, the Successor of *Christian*; only first observing, that we must often beware of Men who aim at a general Popularity. Under the specious Name of Liberty, lie often hid the most wicked and destructive Schemes.

Puffendorf

Puffendorf says, that *John* ‘ was a brave
 ‘ and honest Prince, of a sweet and patient
 ‘ Temper, and no way given to Revenge.
 ‘ But, nevertheless, at the Instigation of some
 ‘ of his Courtiers, he committed the same
 ‘ Fault which had been the Ruin of the
 ‘ Kings his Predecessors.’

Bad Ministers have often ruined good Princes; and a greater Misfortune cannot befall a King, than to give himself over to Prime Ministers. When those Gentlemen have engrossed their Master, he must no longer expect to have Things represented to him as they are. He from that Time takes a Farewell of Truth, and must see and judge as is suitable to his Favourite’s Humour or Interest. He’ll perhaps be told, that all his Actions conduce to the publick Good; and that the People are entirely satisfied with his Government, at the same Time that his Actions are destructive to the Society, and the People are generally disaffected. The great Point a Prime Minister has to manage, is, to hinder all Access to his Master, either personal, or by Writing; except such as is agreeable

able to him and his Creatures. Thus the poor deluded Prince is kept ignorant of what ought to be his chief Care ; he becomes the Nation's Curse, and the Minister's Tool.

For these Reasons, a wise Prince will make Use of several Means of Information, and not meanly submit to the Determination of a Creature whose Advantage is to deceive. A Minister who engrosses the Ear of his Master, will represent the most honest and virtuous Men as disaffected Villains ; the most knowing and capable, as ignorant and unable. But when a Prince is wise enough not to suffer a Minister to monopolize him, then the Minister will not dare to make those false Relations, but will be obliged, for his own Safety, to relate Things as they are. A Prince should likewise consider, that the Enormities of his Ministers are laid at his Door. He must bear the Blame of them. The Cruelty of the *Danish* Governors, our Author tells us, ' rendered the King odious ' to the People, who imagined that they

‘ did nothing but by his Order or Allow-
‘ ance.’

Sweden, at this Time, was in a very calamitous State. All the Miseries of a Civil War prevailed, which were the Offspring of the Ministers to whom King *John* had given himself up; but the Punishment of them fell upon him. Many of his Subjects withdrew their Allegiance, and gave the following Reasons for their rising in Arms:

‘ *First*, That the King had not kept to the
‘ Treaty of *Calmar*; that he had not put an
‘ End to the Difference that had happened
‘ upon Account of the Island of *Gothland*;
‘ that he had deprived the *Swedes* of the Of-
‘ fices and Fees of the Kingdom, to give
‘ them to Strangers, who treated the Natives
‘ with the utmost Barbarity; that all the
‘ Revenues he received from *Sweden*, were
‘ carried into *Denmark*; that he had alto-
‘ gether exhausted the Royal Treasury; that
‘ he had not given Orders to coin better
‘ Money; that he had taken away the *Swe-*
‘ *dish* Standards at *Rotebroo*, and made them

‘ to

‘ to be hung up in the Church of *Copen-*
 ‘ *hagen*, to affront the *Swedish* Nation, and
 ‘ to testify the little Esteem he had for
 ‘ them: And, *lastly*, that he had amused,
 ‘ and also incommoded them, by several
 ‘ Assemblies which he had called together;
 ‘ and therefore since he never gave over his
 ‘ Tricks and Artifices, never kept his Word,
 ‘ nor stood to what he had promised by Let-
 ‘ ters sealed with his Seal, they were no
 ‘ longer bound by the Treaty of *Calmar*
 ‘ than the King himself observed the Ar-
 ‘ ticles of it.’

These Reasons contain excellent Lessons
 for Princes. From hence they may learn
 how odious it is to a People for their Prince
 to violate his Promises; how their Spirits are
 raised to Revenge, when Foreigners are pre-
 ferred to the Natives. What Grumbling and
 Disaffection is begot by squandering and ex-
 hausting the publick Treasure, which should
 be applied to no other Purpose than to the
 Good of the Publick. All which Lessons,
 King *John* would probably have observed,

had he been wise enough to have discarded those selfish, insolent Ministers, who surrounded him. But his adhering to them produced a general Revolt, and *Steen Sture* was chosen Governor. He died in 1503, and in the next Year *Suante Nilson Sture* was elected in his Stead. The *Swedes* were resolute in opposing King *John*. It was in vain that the Emperor threatened, and ordered them to receive him; they were a free People, and such a People will never part with their Liberties, unless accompanied with their Lives and Fortunes; they must be corrupted before they will be Slaves. *Suante Sture* died, after having been Governor about eight Years. He was succeeded by *Steen Sture* the Second,

Not long afterwards, King *John* likewise departed this Life. *Sweden*, all this while, suffered very great Troubles: Intestine Broils reduced her very low, in which Archbishop *Trolle* was a principal Actor. But as Anarchy cannot be of long Continuance, a Change could not but happen; and, in fine, *Christian*,

stian, Son of King *John*, was crowned King of *Sweden*; during whose Reign the greatest Miseries that *Sweden* ever laboured under were destined to be her Lot. Now, the Effects of Queen *Margaret's* Union were to appear in their most dreadful Light. Indeed *Sweden* could not boast of much Felicity from the Time that the Kingdoms were united in *Eric* her Nephew, though Tyranny had not raged so furiously as in the Reign now under Consideration. It was equal, perhaps, to the most barbarous Times of the East. Innocent Persons of all Ranks were tortured, massacred and butchered. After having glutted himself with these (in *Sweden*) unheard-of Inhumanities, he returned to *Denmark*, and in his Way ' caused Gibbets to be
 ' erected in all Places as he went along, and
 ' every where exercised the most horrid Ty-
 ' rannies. As he passed by *Lindkoping*, he
 ' made two young Boys, of the Family of
 ' the *Ribblings*, to be whipped to Death;
 ' one of which was but nine, and the other
 ' but seven Years old. In the Cloyster of
 ' *Nydala*, he made the Abbot, and nine Re-
 ' ligious

religious of the same Convent, to be drowned. While these Enormities were transacting, Heaven raised up *Gustavus Erichson*, to free his Countrymen from the intolerable Misery into which they were involved; and finding him worthy, they elected him King.

It might not be amiss to observe here, the lamentable State of those People who bow under Arbitrary Government; where their Lives, Fortunes, Chastity and every Thing that is dear and near to them are at the absolute Disposal of Men void of all Reason and Humanity. It is very strange that Men whom God has created free, can be brought to bear Slavery; and yet we see the greatest Part of the World in this abject and shocking State; a State, the Consideration of which is sufficient to deter Men from being enticed to it by ever so specious Pretences, and to animate them to oppose with all their Might any Attempts to force them to it. It is certain, Virtue must be greatly extinguished from among that People who part with their Liberty, and embrace Slavery. They must
be

be first vitiated ; but this was not the Case in *Sweden* ; and therefore they freed themselves from the Tyranny of their cruel Prince.

During the Reign of King *Gustavus*, the *Lutheran* Religion was established. It is easy to perceive, that the Church of *Rome* would make great Opposition thereunto ; but *Gustavus* was a wise Prince, and *Rome's* Opposition proved vain. The Clergy at this Time were arrived in *Sweden* to an extravagant Degree, to lower which, *Gustavus* took upon him a bold Design, considering the Superstition of the Times. He brought them down, by reducing both their Rank and Revenues. ‘ When the Prelates insisted on
 ‘ their Immunities and Privileges, the King
 ‘ answered them very well, that since they
 ‘ had not received them from Heaven, but
 ‘ from the Secular Power, they might with-
 ‘ out a Crime be changed and altered, ac-
 ‘ cording to the Circumstances of Time, and
 ‘ the Necessities of the State.’ That Nation must be in a wretched Condition, where the Clergy are too powerful ; for they never fail
 to

to drive the Nail to the Head. They are *generally* ready to enter into any Measures, tho' ever so destructive to their King and Country, provided they can thereby make any Addition either to their Wealth or Authority. Nay, they will make Use of the tremendous Name of God to further their selfish Ends. Therefore the King acted a wise and brave Part in diminishing their usurped Power. After which, having pretty well settled domestick Affairs, he turned his Thoughts Abroad, towards promoting Commerce. Till this Prince's Reign, *Sweden* appeared but obscurely to the more southern Courts of *Europe*, but he entered into an Alliance with *Francis I.* of *France*, and enlarged the Dignity both of his Country and Crown ; the latter he got the States to declare hereditary in a Male Line. They were so sensible of his great Services and good Intentions, that they seemed to be in a Temper to grant any Thing. And this is often a dangerous Error of free States ; they frequently carry their Gratitude too far, even to their own Ruin. When they are delivered from great Dangers, or find an

eminent Patriot, they think, that they can never sufficiently reward him; ^{we should} but to be really secure and happy, ~~they should~~ not trust too much even to the best of Men. I do not say that *Sueden* did too much for the King, but they seemed to be in a very yielding Humour.

King *Gustavus* was now in an advanced Age, and therefore resolved to make a princely Provision for his Sons. The eldest was to succeed him. ‘ To the second Son, Duke *John*, he gave *Finland*. To Duke *Magnus*, his third Son, he gave *West Gothland*. And to Duke *Charles*, the youngest, the Provinces of *Sudermanca*, *Nericia* and *Wermeland*. To every one of his Daughters he assigned an hundred thousand Crowns, with some Moveables.’

Of such Divisions I cannot at all approve; they have often proved the Cause of very great Troubles in many Kingdoms. When Men of equal Birth think themselves powerful enough to make Head against their

D

Prince,

Prince, they seldom fail to break through all Ties of Blood, Allegiance, and even Love to their Country. Hence arise Civil Wars, of all Wars the most direful.

Gustavus died in 1560, and was succeeded by his Son *Erich*, who fell far short of his Father's Virtues; for he was a very fickle, inconstant Prince, fond of being flattered, and consequently easily deceived. Evil Counsellors got the Ascendency over him, and governed him according to their Humour and Interest. In his Amours he was changeable beyond Parallel, and at last married his Concubine, *Katherine*, a Woman of very mean Extraction. He was very mistrustful, and jealous of Conspiracies. The Imprisonment of Duke *John* was a very wrong Step, unless he has entirely followed the Directions of *Machiavel*. Groundless Suspicions are very hurtful to a Prince; they alienate from him his Subjects Love, and do reciprocally beget in them Suspicions of him. They lead him to Cruelty, and generally end in his own Ruin.

This

This *Erich* experienced ; though could he have flung off his Favourite, *Joran Peerſon*, he might have reigned quietly, even after the many Cruelties he had committed, and the Injuries he had done to his Brother *John*, who was freed from Priſon, and reconciled to the King. But ſo infatuated are Princes, that they ſeldom can part with their baſe Minions till they are forced to part both with them and their Crowns, and often with their Lives. This insolent Miniſter, after having ruined his King, who was no longer able to protect him, was delivered up to Juſtice : And, for a Warning to all over-grown Miniſters, who think themſelves beyond the Reach of an injured People, I will tranſcribe an Account of the Fate of this great wicked Man. ‘ He was condemned to Death, as a
‘ Traytor to the King, a Robber, Murderer
‘ and Adulterer, and as a Diſturber of the
‘ publick Peace. *Fiſt*, His Ears were
‘ cut off, and nailed to the Gibbet with his
‘ Patent of Nobility ; and being afterwards
‘ hanged, he was immediately cut down,
‘ and put upon the Wheel, where his Arms

‘ and Legs were broken, and his Head was
 ‘ cut off with a Hatchet; and at last his
 ‘ Body was cut into four Parts, and put
 ‘ upon four Wheels at *Brunkenburg*.’ The
 deluded *Frich* was deposed, and after some
 Years of hard Usage, poisoned.

He was succeeded by his Brother *John*,
 in the Year 1568, whose Ministers in
 that same Year concluded a most disho-
 nourable and scandalous Treaty with *Den-*
mark. During the Reign of *John*, reli-
 gious Disputes often prevailed, which the
 King encouraged, having a Mind to bring in
 again the *Roman Catholick* Religion; but the
 People were too much freed from the old
 Superstition, and after many vain Attempts,
 King *John* returned to the *Ausburg* Confes-
 sion. As to the Wars which this Prince car-
 ried on, he had Fortune on his Side, especially
 against the *Muscovites*, over whom he got
 several eminent Victories. He died the 17th
 of *September*, 1592; and was succeeded by
 his Son *Sigismund*, who was then King of
Poland.

It

It seldom happens that a Prince governs several Kingdoms to the Satisfaction of the respective Subjects. Jealousy and Envy prevail among Mankind, who cannot bear to see their Neighbours used as well as themselves. Always full of their own Merit, they think too much cannot be done in their Favour, and at the same Time are dissatisfied at any Good done to others.

Sweden was much displeased at the Government of *Sigismund*; they complained of his long Absence; of his arbitrary Intentions; but, above all, of his Design to re-establish the *Roman Catholick* Religion, gave a Disgust which, in the End, deprived him of the *Swedish* Crown. Duke *Charles* knew very well how to take Advantage of those Troubles, and to prepare for himself a Way to the Throne. This he did, not only by pretending, but by really advancing the publick Good. *Sigismund* had not indeed acted so tyrannical and arbitrary as some of his Predecessors; but he plainly demonstrated his Design of governing more despotically than the Constitution

I allowed,

allowed, and of introducing *Popery*, which the States thought were sufficient Reasons to dispose of the Crown to another. His hostile Intention, did likewise as plainly appear, as his Incapacity of conforming to the Laws of the Nation. His Breach of the Articles of Accommodation concluded at *Lindköping* between him and Duke *Charles*, and his hasty Retreat to *Poland*, did all conspire to alienate his Subjects Hearts. They indeed seem to have kept Temper very well; they were willing to use moderate Means, and prevent coming to Extrems; as may appear by their following Representation: ‘ That tho’ they
‘ were sensible he had not stood to the *Lind-*
‘ *köping* Treaty, and had encouraged the Se-
‘ dition and tumultuous Actions of the *Fin-*
‘ *landers*, they intreated him to perform his
‘ Promises, to pacify the Troubles of *Fin-*
‘ *land*, to put all Things in the Condition
‘ they were in formerly, to punish those who
‘ were criminal, pursuant to the Laws of
‘ Justice, to embrace the *Protestant* Religion,
‘ and to return to his Kingdom, where he
‘ might rule in Peace and Tranquility; or,
‘ if

† if he would not listen to such Proposals,
 ‘ to send Prince *Uladislaus* into *Sweden*, to
 ‘ be bred up to the Reformed Religion, un-
 ‘ der the Guardianship of Duke *Charles* :
 ‘ In fine, if he would condescend to neither
 ‘ of these Proposals, they protested, that
 ‘ King *Sigismund* and his Posterity should
 ‘ for ever forfeit their Right to the Crown of
 ‘ *Sweden*, and that they would prefer ano-
 ‘ ther to the Throne, who should form his
 ‘ Government according to the Laws of the
 ‘ Kingdom.’ This Advice had no Effect on
 his Majesty ; he could not bear to submit to
 the States ; therefore they offered the Crown
 to the Prince, provided he would come to
Sweden, and be brought up in the Religion
 which they were resolved to live in. But he
 not coming, both Father and Son were de-
 prived of the Crown ; which being refused
 by Duke *John*, was settled on Duke *Charles*.

The States, willing, or rather resolving to
 have the Government settled to their own
 Mind, they ‘ obliged the King of *Sweden* to
 ‘ marry a *Protestant* Queen, and excluded
 ‘ the

‘ the Hereditary Prince from the Crown, if
 ‘ he should be possessed of a foreign King-
 ‘ dom ; nay, they ty’d up the King of *Swe-*
 ‘ *den* from accepting of any other Crown,
 ‘ unless he resolved to make *Sweden* the
 ‘ Place of his constant Residence.’ *Charles*
 was not near so successful after he became
 King, as he was before ; Fortune seemed to
 have quite forsaken him both by Sea and
 Land: But the young Prince *Gustavus* re-
 ceived early Proofs of her Favour. *Charles*
 was very willing to prevent a Rupture with
Denmark, but *Christian* would not hearken
 to any reasonable Proposals, and at last de-
 clared War against him, for assuming the
 Title of Lord of *Lapland* ; for building Forts
 upon his North Frontiers, and granting them
 Privileges to the Prejudice of *Norway* ; and
 for disturbing the Commerce of the *Baltick*
 Sea.

But *Puffendorf* looks upon these Reasons
 as invalid ; and says, ‘ The King of *Sweden*
 ‘ had just Reason to declare War against
 ‘ *Denmark* ; since, contrary to all Justice,
 ‘ King

‘ King *Christian* bore in his Arms the three
 ‘ Crowns, made Pretensions to the Castle of
 ‘ *Sonnebourg* in the Isle of *Oesel*, and raised
 ‘ Taxes from the *Laplanders*, who were un-
 ‘ der the Dominion of *Sweden* ;’ with many
 other Acts of Injustice.

This War exhausted both Nations, drain-
 ing them of their Treasure, which might
 have been employed to Uses far more bene-
 ficial. Unnecessary Wars are a dreadful
 Curse upon a Nation, and the Promoters of
 them have a black and odious Catalogue of
 Crimes to be purged from ; all the Defo-
 lation and Calamities which happen in such
 Wars, are to be laid at their Door.

King *Charles* did not live to finish the War ;
 he died in 1611, leaving the Crown to his
 Son *Gustavus Adolphus*, between whom and
Christian a Peace was concluded, by the Me-
 diation of *England*, in *January* 1613. *Cal-*
mar, *Oeland*, the Castles of *Kisby* and *Elfs-*
bourg, with all their Dependencies, were re-
 stored to the *Swedes*, upon the Payment of a
 E million

million of Crowns. Now *Gustavus* turned his Thoughts more entirely upon *Muscovy*; but, through Delay and Doubt, he lost a fine Opportunity of settling the Affairs of that Country on a Footing very advantageous to *Sweden*.

This War, with that of *Poland*, employed him for some Time; notwithstanding which, he did not neglect his domestick Affairs, but, as became a wise and good Prince, he enacted wholesome Laws, regulated the Finances, settled several Points relating to Commerce, making the Good of his Subjects the End of his Government, and laying to his Country the Foundation not only of Happiness during his Reign, but for Ages to come, very different in this from many of his Predecessors, who only studied mean Shifts to get over present Difficulties; which is always the Method of weak Princes. They are not able to form great Projects, or extend their Care to Posterity; their Souls are too narrow; all their Care is for the present Minute, and by blundering inconsistent Measures,

fures, they juſt keep themſelves from ſinking, and entail on Poſterity Loads of Trouble and Inconveniencies. Thus infamouſly do they live to themſelves, and detrimentally to Mankind. But *Adolphus* had a nobler and higher Genius; he knew how to govern both in Peace and War, and always had in View the End for which he was made a King, that is, the Benefit of the Society; a Conſideration that ſlips many Princes, who are fooliſh enough to imagine that Society is ordained for them, inſtead of their being inſtituted for Society.

After Variety of Battles, and many other Incidents, the conſtant Concomitants of War, his Majeſty concluded a Peace with *Muſcovy*, and a long Truce with *Poland*, to his own and Country's Glory and Advantage. And now let us attend him in his great Scene of Action, which was in *Germany*. His Motives for which, are in his Maniſeſto ſaid to be, * ' The Publick Good, his own Safety,

* See Collection of Treaties &c.

‘ and the Preservation of his Friends, whom
 ‘ he desired to put in the same State and Li-
 ‘ berty which they were in before that War,
 ‘ and by the same Means to secure for the
 ‘ future the Neighbourhood of the *Baltick*
 ‘ Sea, and his own Kingdom of *Sweden*,
 ‘ against all Violence of Pirates and Robbers.’
 In the same Manifesto he likewise complains
 ‘ that his Letters sent to the Prince of *Tran-*
 ‘ *sylvania* were intercepted; and after they
 ‘ were opened, false Glosses were put upon
 ‘ them, to load him with the Peoples Ha-
 ‘ tred, and render him odious every where;
 ‘ that they were maliciously published, and
 ‘ the Courier who carried them was put in
 ‘ Prison, and treated as a Criminal, by open
 ‘ and publick Violence, contrary to the Law
 ‘ of Nations. Moreover, (says the Mani-
 ‘ festo) the Enemies of the publick Quiet
 ‘ hindered the Peace, which was then treat-
 ‘ ing, from being concluded between his said
 ‘ Majesty and the King of *Poland*; although
 ‘ there was great Appearance of its being in
 ‘ a fair Way to be brought to a Conclusion;
 ‘ insomuch that they practised upon and cor-
 ‘ rupted

' rupted the chief Ministers of the States of
 ' *Poland* by Presents and Artifices, with an
 ' Intention still to continue and keep up that
 ' War, until they had executed their Designs
 ' in the Empire; by making the *Polanders*
 ' hope, that after they had subdued the *Pro-*
 ' *testant* Party in *Germany*, they would not
 ' fail to assist them to invade and take Pos-
 ' session of the Kingdom of *Sweden*. For
 ' Confirmation of which Promise, and to ac-
 ' quit themselves of their Obligation by real
 ' Effects, which tended only to animate the
 ' *Polanders*, and weaken *Sweden*; they for-
 ' bid any Levies to be made in *Germany* for
 ' *Sweden*; and on the contrary allowed the
 ' Enemy to levy Soldiers openly, and to make
 ' Use of all the Provisions they could draw
 ' from thence. But perceiving, that notwith-
 ' standing all their Prohibitions Soldiers flock-
 ' ed from all the Countries of *Germany* into
 ' the Service of the King of *Sweden*; the
 ' following Year 1627. they dispatched the
 ' Duke of *Holsace* with a powerful Army, to
 ' make Head against him in *Prussia*, and
 ' that under the Colours and Banners of the
 ' Em-

‘ Emperor himself. Besides this, they forbid
 ‘ the Merchants all Freedom of Trade and
 ‘ Commerce, taking away all their Merchan-
 ‘ dizes, and even such whereof the Carriage
 ‘ had been paid in the Towns of *Germany*,
 ‘ and confiscated the *Swedish* Ships on Pretext
 ‘ of establishing a general Commerce in *Lu-*
 ‘ *beck* for the *Hanse Towns*.’ It would be
 tedious to transcribe more of this Manifesto ;
 therefore let this suffice.

It was soon followed by *Gustavus* himself,
 at the Head of his Army; and an Alliance
 having been made with the Duke of *Pome-*
rania, his Troops took Possession of the
 Towns of *Stargard*, *Anklauc*, *Ukermunde*
 and *Wolgast*; after which, he defeated the
Imperialists near *Greiffenbagen* and *Gratz*,
 and in a short Time turned them out of all
Lower Pomerania. He made an Alliance
 with *France*, by which that Crown was to
 pay him every Year 400000 Crowns by way
 of Subsidy.

Gustavus's

Gustavus's Reputation being now very great, the Emperor did not think his own Officers fit to oppose him ; and therefore gave the Command in chief to *Tilly* the *Bavarian*, who was an experienced, knowing, and fortunate General. He soon distinguished himself, but committed a great Error in the Affair of *Leipfig*, thereby causing the Elector of *Saxony* to embrace an Alliance with *Sweden*, which he till then refused ; but after that Action they joined their Forces against the *Imperialists*, and, by the great Courage and wise Conduct of his Majesty, and Bravery of his Troops, *Tilly* was defeated in a Battle near *Leipfig*, in which he lost above 7000 Men ; the *Saxons* lost above 3000, and the *Swedes* 2000.

This Victory gave a great Turn to Affairs in *Germany* ; the *Imperialists* became depressed, and the *Protestants* elevated. Fickle Fortune forsook the *Bavarians*, giving a Lesson to all Generals not to be too confident of their good Luck, but to keep themselves prepared as well for Adversity as Prosperity ; for, as the *Lacedæmonian*

cedemonian Ambassadors in *Thucydides* say, wise Men do not think that War will so far follow, and no further, as one shall please more or less to take it in Hand; but rather so far as Fortune shall lead it. The King of *Sweden* might certainly have improved this Victory better than he did, if he had marched directly to the Emperor's hereditary Countries; instead of which, he went to *Franconia*: However, he had no Reason to complain of his Fortune till the Battle of *Lutzen*, which though favourable to his Army, was fatal to himself, he being killed, and, as *Puffendorf* thinks, by the Treachery of the Duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*.

Thus was this wise and warlike Prince taken away in the midst of Victory, surrounded with Glory and Honour: And, to his everlasting Fame be it remembered, that even during the Confusion and Fury of War, while a thousand different Dangers required his greatest Attention, he attended to them, and at the same Time remembered, and took Care of the domestick Affairs of his Coun-

try; knowing that Victories could not make his People happy without proper Care was taken of their Business at Home: hereby teaching the Way, and leaving a noble Example to all Princes how to govern in Time of War.

How unlike to this generous *Swede* has been the Conduct of many Kings since his Time! who have, during a most profound Peace, let their Subjects be insulted by Foreigners Abroad, and oppressed by Courtiers at Home; who have scandalously seen, with Indifference, their People degenerating to Poverty, Misery and Distress!

It is easy to believe that the Death of *Gustavus Adolphus* caused great Alterations in *Germany*. However, the *Swedes* carried on the War, trusting the Management thereof to Chancellor *Oxenstern*, who was one of the Regents during the Minority of *Queen Christina*. Envy and Mistrust hindered the Allies from acting so vigorously as they might have done; neither was the great Power of *Oxen-*

Jtern at all agreeable to them. Notwithstanding these Obstacles, the Arms of *Sweden* were at first prosperous, but their good Luck changed for a While very fast. The Defeat of the *Swedes* at *Nordlingue*, greatly changed the Face of Affairs; and many of the *Protestants* making separate Peaces for themselves, promised no Good to the *Swedes*, who had also another Difficulty to manage in Relation to *Poland*, with whom a Truce they had formerly made was near expired. In short, to be able to manage with greater Ease their Affairs in *Germany*, they made a twenty-six Years Peace with the *Poles*, by yielding to them *Prussia*. After this, they in some Measure retrieved their former Condition, to which the Victory at *Domitz* greatly contributed; and at length their ancient Glory shone with its wonted Lustre, by the good Fortune of General *Banier*, who gained many notable Victories, and in whom Prudence and Bravery were united, as also in his Successor *Torstenſon*.

It

It is certain, *Sweden* was very happy in her Generals. They had great Capacity, and great Inclinations to serve their Country; the *Amor Patriæ* prompted them to many noble Exploits, and glorious Atchievements, to enumerate which, is foreign to my present Design. Let it therefore suffice to say, that after a long and tedious War, in the Event of which all-*Europe* was concerned; after an Ocean of Blood spilt in many Encounters, Battles and Sieges, which were carried on and fought with various Success, a general Peace was concluded in *Westphalia* in 1648. I will not enter into a Detail of the Particulars of this Treaty of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, but cannot omit transcribing an Account of what was stipulated in Favour of *Sweden*. Besides five millions of Rixdollars which were to be paid for disbanding her Soldiery, the Emperor and the Empire yielded to Queen *Christina*, her Heirs and Successors, 1. * All the hither *Pomerania*, commonly called *Vor Pomeran*, together with the Isle of *Rugen*, included in

* See Collection of Treaties, &c.

the Limits wherein they were bounded under the last Dukes of *Pomerania*. Besides, in further *Pomerania* the Towns of *Stetin*, *Gartz*, *Dam*, *Golnau* and the Isle of *Wolin*, with the River *Oder*, and the Arm of the Sea commonly called the *Trischbauff*. Likewise the three Mouths of *Peine*, *Swine* and *Divenow*, and the adjacent Land on both Sides, beginning at the Royal Territory, and reaching to the *Baltick* Sea, in such an Extent on the eastern Bank, as shall be amicably agreed betwixt the Royal and Electoral Commissioners, who shall be named for the more exact Regulation of the Limits and the other Particulars. Her Majesty, and the Kingdom of *Sweden*, shall hold and possess them for ever, with all their Territories, &c. in the same Manner that the former Dukes of *Pomerania* had possessed and governed them. Her Royal Majesty, and the Kingdom of *Sweden*, shall also have for the future, for ever, all the Right which the Dukes of hither *Pomerania* had in the Collation of the Dignities and Prebendaries of the Chapter of *Camin*, with Power to extinguish them, and
incor-

incorporate them into the Ducal Domain after the Death of the present Prebends: But as to what of these belonged to the Dukes of further *Pomerania*, that shall remain to the Elector of *Brandenburg*. The Male Line of the Family of *Brandenburg* coming to fail, all others, except *Sweden*, shall abstain from taking the Titles and Arms of *Pomerania*; and then also the whole further *Pomerania*, together with the hither *Pomerania*, and the whole Bishoprick, and entire Chapter of *Camin*, together with all the Rights and Dependencies of the former Possessors that shall be united thereto, shall for ever belong to the Kings and Crown of *Sweden* only, who in the mean Time shall enjoy the Benefits of an apparent Succession and simultaneous Investiture. The Emperor, with the Consent of the whole Empire, yields also to the most Serene Queen, and her Heirs and Successors, and to the Kingdom of *Sweden*, in perpetual and immediate Fief of the Empire, the Town and Port of *Wismar*, with the Port of *Walfisch*, as also the Bailliage of *Poel*, (except the Villages of *Schedorf*, *Weidendorf*,
Bran-

Brandenbusen and *Waugern*) and that of *Newencloster*, with all their Rights and Appurtenances, in the same Manner that the Dukes of *Mecklenburg* have possessed them to this Day. The Emperor, with the Consent of the whole Empire, likewise yields the Archbishoprick of *Bremen*, and Bishoprick of *Werden*, with the Town and Bailliage of *Wilskusen*, and the whole Right that did belong to the late Archbishops of *Bremen*, over the Chapter and Diocese of *Hamburg*; saving, however, to the House of *Holstein*, as well as to the City and Chapter of *Hamburg* respectively, their Rights, Privileges, &c. The Emperor and Empire do receive upon Account of all the foresaid Provinces and Fiefs, for an immediate State of the Empire, the most Serene Queen and her Successors to the Crown of *Sweden*; so that the foresaid Queen and the said Kings shall from henceforth be called to the Imperial Diets with the other States of the Empire, under the Title of Dukes of *Bremen*, *Werden* and *Pomerania*, as well as under that of Princes of *Rugen*, and the Lords of *Wisnar*; and there shall

shall be assigned them a Seat in the Imperial Assemblies in the College of Princes, &c. Notwithstanding all these Advantages which *Sweden* got, and the Honour and Glory of restoring and confirming the Privileges of the States of the Empire and the *Protestant* Religion; yet, as *Puffendorf* says, ‘ Some People imagine the *Swedes* made this Peace too hastily, and that they sold the Advantages they had gained at too low a Rate, and might have stipulated more advantageous Conditions, as well for themselves as their Allies, if they had continued the War for some Time, instead of being forced to permit themselves to be ill dealt with after laying down their Arms.’ For my Part, I am of Opinion, with the same Author, that *Queen Christina* had very strong Motives to put an End to a War, the Events whereof are usually very uncertain. For, *First*, *Holland* had left the Allies, and made Peace with *Spain*, and Troubles began to break out in *France*; so that *Sweden* ran the Risk of bearing the whole Burden of the War. And again, had the *Swedes* lost but one

1

‘ general

‘ general Battle, which was ever the Aim of
 ‘ the *Imperialists*, they would at one Stroke
 ‘ have lost the Fruit of so many Toils, and
 ‘ so much Time. Besides, the States of Ger-
 ‘ *many* were weary of War, and might have
 ‘ taken some desperate Resolutions, had they
 ‘ deferred the Peace too long ; to which may
 ‘ be added, that the *German* Soldiers, who
 ‘ made the greatest Part of the *Swedish* Army,
 ‘ were so tired out, that they had very little
 ‘ Fear or Regard to their Officers. In fine,
 ‘ *Queen Christina* was willing to live at Rest,
 ‘ and could not any longer endure that her
 ‘ Estate should depend upon the uncertain
 ‘ Success of War, or the Humours of other
 ‘ People.’ But if these Reasons do not sa-
 tisfy those who think the Advantages *Sweden*
 got in this War entituled them to more pro-
 fitable Terms ; how must they blame a Mi-
 nistry, who, after a long and continued Series
 of Success ; who, after the Enemy was redu-
 ced to the lowest Condition, yielded to the
 same depressed Enemy Articles as honourable
 and beneficial as he could have desired had he
 been Conqueror, yielded the very Points
 which

which were the chief Cause of the War! How, I say, must those who blame the *Swedes* for agreeing to the Terms of the *Westphalian* Treaty, condemn the *English* for agreeing to the Terms of the Treaty of *Utrecht*! and other Treaties which they have made since that Time! It is generally known, that Queen *Christina* being dissatisfied with her Subjects, and a sincere *Roman Catholick*, resigned her worldly Crown, in order to prepare herself for a heavenly one. She was a Princess endowed with many excellent Qualities, was very learned, also witty; and, what is not always a Consequence of either Learning or Wit, she was very judicious; though perhaps some may think, that to resign a Crown voluntarily is not a great Sign of Judgment.

Her Cousin, *Charles Gustavus*, Count Palatine, succeeded to the Throne. He was a brave Prince, and always had Subject enough on which to exercise both his Wisdom and Courage. He was in continual Action during his whole Reign. *Poland* fell under his conquering Sword; the Progress he made in

subduing this Country, was surprizing, and gave Umbrage to several States, that were jealous of his great Success. *Denmark* declared War against him, but paid dearly for the same; and had not the *Dutch* rescued *Copenhagen*, after a sharp Engagement with the *Swedish* Fleet, the whole Country would have been at the Mercy of King *Charles*. This brave Prince, in the midst of his Career and Preparations, was, in the Year 1660, seized by Death, from whom, neither Wisdom, Wealth or Power, can preserve us. To him we must all bow; and happy are both Prince and Peasant who are ready to pay this unavoidable Homage.

Charles placed his Greatness in being beneficial to his Country. And here it will not be amiss to observe, that the greatest Princes have been those who have most consulted their Subjects Interest, and squared their Government by Law. To such Princes a free People are ready to part with any Thing, believing that what they give will be employed to their own Advantage. Therefore the best

Way that a Prince can take to be truly great, is to be good ; that is, to make the Publick Good the End of his Government : Such an one cannot fail of having the Applause of all good Men.

Charles XI. being a Minor of five Years old, the Regents did not care to carry on the War ; therefore they concluded the Peace of *Oliva*, and composed their Differences with *Holland* and *Muscovy*. This Peace did not procure long Rest to the *Swedes*, who became soon engaged in War again ; which, however, at last ended to their Advantage. *Charles* himself defeated the *Danes* at *Halmstadt*, at *Lund* and at *Landskroon*, and that within the Space of a Year and a Day. These Successes produced to *Sweden* an honourable Peace, and the King, to secure Affairs on a firm Footing, married the Princess Royal of *Denmark*. After this, he applied himself to the Arts of Peace, but nevertheless kept prepared for War. Among other Acts, he restored to the Crown such Lands as his Predecessors had disunited from it, we may easily believe to the great

Diffatisfaction of the then Possessors. His Views were very extensive, and he would, probably, have rendered his Country both rich and powerful, had he lived any considerable Time longer; but Death took him away in the Prime of his Age. He had three Children; 1. *Hedwig Sophia*, who was married to the Duke of *Holstein*. 2. *Charles XII.* who succeeded him. 3. *Ulrica Eleonora*, the ^{late} ~~present~~ Queen of *Sweden*.

Charles, after a Life spent in continual War, was shot, in 1718, before *Fredrikshall*. His Sister, *Ulrica Eleonora*, succeeded him, and Liberty succeeded with her. This Princess cheerfully agreed to abolish absolute Power, chusing rather to govern Freemen than Slaves; and having with the Diet settled the Government on a proper Footing, with Consent of the States she resigned to her Consort *Frederick*, then hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, who agreeing to the Instrument of Government established by the said States, was crowned King, in *April* 1720.

After

After so long a Series of Wars as *Sweden* had been engaged in, it could not but be drained of Money, and, in some Measure, exhausted of its People. Its Enemies got the better in their Negotiations, and at last left it in a low Condition ; but by a prudent Administration of the Finances, by encouraging Industry and Manufactures, by wholesome Laws, and good Policy, is now wonderfully recovered.

It might not be amiss, before I conclude, to present the Reader with a View of the Extent, Soil, Produce, Policy, Religion, Interests, Trade, &c. of the Nation on whose History are made the foregoing Observations ; but it does not seem a very proper Time to the Author to treat on these Subjects. He therefore follows the Advice of *Solomon*, and refers himself to a proper Season. ‘ To every Thing there is a Season, and a Time to every Purpose under the Heaven.’

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